

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00

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SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 /086 W

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O P 291832Z SEP 76

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1765

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0458

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: AIDE MEMOIRE OF SEPT 24, 1976

REF: STATE 238270 (DTG 251050Z SEP 76)

1. THE DELEGATION HAS STUDIED THE DRAFT FRG AIDE MEMOIRE (TEXT IN REFTEL) AND HAS SOME COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS REGARDING IT FOR POSSIBLE USE BY WASHINGTON AGENCIES IN PREPARING A US RESPONSE TO THE GERMANS. VISITING ACDA ASST DIR SLOSS HAS REVIEWED THESE DELEGATION COMMENTS AND CONCURS WITH APPROACH OUTLINED BELOW.

2. WE CONSIDER THE FRG DRAFT INCOMPLETE AND INSUFFICIENTLY EXPLICIT TO BE A SELF-CONTAINED EXPLANATION OF THE POSITION OF WESTERN MBFR PARTICIPANTS FOR USE WITH THE FRENCH. THE PRESENT
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FORMULATION ALSO ENTAILS SOME RISK OF ADVERSE FRENCH REACTION.

THESE DIFFICULTIES COULD BE DIMINISHED BY THE INCLUSION OF A FEW MORE EXPLANATORY POINTS.

3. WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING TEXT, WHICH COULD BE USED BY AN ALLIED INTERLOCUTOR WITH THE FRENCH, PRESUMABLY THE FRG, AS AN AIDE MEMOIRE. AT THE DISCRETION OF THE INTERLOCUTOR, PORTIONS OF THE DRAFT AIDE MEMOIRE MIGHT BE USED AS TALKINGPOINTS INSTEAD.

4. THE SUGGESTED TEXT PRESERVES THE BASIC CONCEPT OF THE FRG PAPER WHILE ADDING A FEW POINTS. THE MAIN PROPOSED ADDITIONS ARE DRAWN FROM THE PAPER CONTAINING COVERING COMMENTS ALREADY APPROVED BY WASHINGTON AGENCIES PRIOR TO THE TRILATERAL SESSION.

5. THE CHANGES SUGGESTED FOR THE SUPPLEMENTARY AD HOC GROUP GUIDANCE INCLUDED IN THE AIDE MEMOIRE ARE MINIMAL. THEY CONSIST OF: (A) DROPPING OUT PARA B CONTAINING FIGURES FOR THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, THE CONTENT OF WHICH IS ALREADY CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT GUIDANCE INTENDED FOR SUBMISSION TO THE SPC. ITS REPETITION IN THE DRAFT SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE SEEMS UNNECESSARY AND A FURTHER HOSTAGE TO FORTUNE.

(B) DELETION OF THE TERM "UNIFORMED" FROM THE PHRASE "TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL" IN PARA D. WESTERN NEGOTIATORS HAVE NOT USED THIS CONCEPT WITH THE EAST. INTRODUCING IT WOULD ADD AN UNNECESSARY ELEMENT OF AMBIGUITY TO THE PRESENT WESTERN POSITION. (C) WE HAVE ADDED AT THE END OF THE DRAFT SUPPLEMENTARY GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP THE IDEA THAT FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG COULD INCREASE--A DESIRABLE SELLING POINT FOR USE WITH THE FRENCH, INCLUDED IN EARLIER WASHINGTON DRAFT FOR THE TRILATERAL, BUT OMITTED IN THE PRESENT GERMAN PAPER.

6. WE ATTACH TO THE DRAFT AIDE MEMOIRE A CONTINGENCY REPLY FOR THE EVENT THAT THE FRENCH WOULD ASK THEIR FRG INTERLOCUTOR WHAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD SAY TO THE EAST ABOUT THE COMMON CEILING AFTER THE WEST HAS TABLED FIGURES FROM WHICH THE FRENCH HAVE BEEN DELETED. WE SEE NO REASON FOR AN FRG REP TO SEPARATELY RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH THE FRENCH IN VIEW OF THE UNAMBIGUOUS POSITION ON THE COMMON CEILING WHICH WILL BE CONTAINED IN THE AIDE MEMOIRE AND OF WILLOT'S REPORT THAT HE TOLD THE FRENCH THAT WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WOULD HAVE TO STICK WITH CURRENT NATO GUIDANCE ON THE COMMON CEILING. BUT, EQUALLY, IT SEEMS ADVISABLE
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THAT A POSSIBLE REPLY TO A POSSIBLE FRENCH QUESTION ON THIS TOPIC SHOULD BE TRIPARTITELY AGREED IN ADVANCE.

7. AS REGARDS INFORMING OTHER ALLIED PARTICIPANTS OF THE INTENDED FRG ACTION, WE SUGGEST THAT IT MIGHT BE PREFERABLE FOR THE FRG TO USE A STANDARD SET OF TALKING POINTS PLUS THE TEXT OF THE INTERIM SPC GUIDANCE GIVING THE FIGURES FOR DIRECT PARTICIPANTS AND OMITTING THE FRENCH. SUBJECT TO ANY COMMITMENTS ALREADY

MADE BY THE FRG, WE THINK IT WOULD PRESENT SERIOUS PROBLEMS FOR THE FRG TO ATTEMPT TO CLEAR WITH ALL THE OTHER ALLIED PARTICIPANTS (ASIDE FROM THE UK AND US) THE FULL TEXT OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE INTENDED TO BE USED WITH THE FRENCH OR THE TEXT OF THE "NATIONAL" GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP DEVELOPED IN LONDON. IF THE ACTUAL TEXTS ARE SHOWN TO ALLIED PARTICIPANTS, THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE RISK THAT THEY WILL WISH TO MAKE TIME-CONSUMING EDITORIAL CHANGES AFTER REFERRING THE TEXTS TO THEIR CAPITALS. WE BELIEVE IT HIGHLY DESIRABLE ON THE OTHER HAND THAT NEW GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP IS IN CLEAR PROSPECT BEFORE THE FIRST AD HOC GROUP REPORT TO NAC ON OCT 22. SECOND, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE RISK THAT THE FRENCH WOULD RECEIVE THROUGH SOME OF THESE ALLIES ADVANCE WARNING OF THE PENDING FRG DISCUSSION WITH FRENCH AUTHORITIES IN A FORM WHICH WOULD ADVERSELY PREJUDICE THEM AGAINST IT. WE THINK THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE A SUFFICIENT BASIS FOR COMMENTING ON THE PROPOSED ACTIONS IF THEY ARE SHOWN A COPY OF THE DRAFT INTERIM GUIDANCE FOR THE SPC AND THE FRG DESCRIBES TO THEM THE LINE IT INTENDS TO TAKE WITH THE FRENCH AND MAKES THE POINT THAT THE ALLIES IN VIENNA COULD ANSWER POSSIBLE EASTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE EFFECTS OF DELETING FRENCH FORCES FROM WESTERN DATA ALONG THE LINES OF EXISTING NATO GUIDANCE ON THE COMMON CEILING.

8. BEGIN TEXT OF DELEGATION VERSION OF DRAFT AIDE MEMOIRE:

1. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THE BELGIAN AUTHORITIES HAVE APPROACHED THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES WITH REGARD TO THE POSSIBILITY OF ACTION BY THE ALLIES PARTICIPATING IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TO TABLE DATA ON NATO FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WHICH OMIT A TOTAL FOR FRENCH FORCES.

2. WE ALSO UNDERSTAND THAT THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES HAVE STATED THAT THEY WOULD NOT PLAN TO COMMENT IN THE SPC OR NAC ON THE SECRET

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TEXT OF A GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP ALONG SUCH LINES.

3. ACCORDINGLY, I WOULD LIKE TO GIVE YOU A DRAFT ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED BY THE BELGIAN AUTHORITIES (TEXT CURRENTLY BEING REVISED BY THE BELGIANS).

4. THIS DRAFT HAS BEEN REVIEWED BY OTHER ALLIES PARTICIPATING IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND IT IS INTENDED TO INTRODUCE THE DRAFT INTO THE SPC IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

5. I HAVE SOME FURTHER REMARKS ON THIS GENERAL SUBJECT WHICH ALSO REFLECT THE THINKING OF OTHER ALLIED PARTICIPANTS.

6. WE ARE PREPARED TO TABLE DATA OMITTING THE FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG AS AN INTERIM MEASURE IN VIEW OF THE PRACTICAL NEED

TO TABLE DATA IN VIENNA.

7. THIS INTERIM ACTION SHOULD NOT BE CONSIDERED AS PREJUDICING EITHER THE FRENCH POSITION OR THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS ON THE QUESTIONS OF INCLUSION OF FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG IN WESTERN DATA AND OF THE RIGHT OF THE ALLIED PARTICIPANTS TO ADJUST THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHANGES IN THE LEVEL OF OTHER WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA.

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FROM US REP MBFR

8. WE CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THAT A SOLUTION OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH VIEWPOINT ON THESE TOPICS AND THOSE OF THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES IS NECESSARY.

FIRST, THE ALLIES PARTICIPATING IN THE VIENNA TALKS NEED TO BE ABLE TO REFER TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF BOTH WESTERN AND EASTERN FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN ORDER TO PROVIDE THE NUMERICAL BASIS FOR COMPUTING EASTERN AND WESTERN REDUCTIONS AND FOR

SETTING OVERALL RESIDUAL LEVELS.

SECOND, THE CONCEPT THAT THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL HAVE THE RIGHT TO ADJUST THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF INCREASES OR DECREASES IN THE SIZE OF OTHER WESTERN FORCES IN THE AREA REMAINS CENTRAL TO THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN PARTICIPANTS.

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INTER ALIA, THIS IS BECAUSE THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES REQUIRE THAT AN AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST SETTING FORCE LEVELS IN A SPECIFIC AREA SHOULD PROVIDE SOME AGREED WAY OF DEALING WITH THE ISSUE OF POSSIBLE INTRODUCTION BY THE WARSAW PACT OF OUTSIDE FORCES INTO THE EASTERN PORTION OF THE REDUCTION AREA. MOREOVER, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE WARSAW PACT ITSELF WOULD INSIST AS A PREREQUISITE FOR AN AGREEMENT ON SOME PROVISION DEALING WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF INTRODUCTION INTO THE AREA OF WESTERN FORCES OTHER THAN THOSE OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. THE CONCEPT THAT THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES WILL ADJUST THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHANGES IN THE LEVEL OF FORCES OF NON-PARTICIPANTS IS THE BEST WAY TO MEET THIS ISSUE.

9. IN ORDER TO PUT OUR VIEWS ON THESE TOPICS IN A SPECIFIC FORM, WE HAVE PREPARED A DRAFT GUIDANCE COVERING THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF OUR POSITION. WE WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE THIS DRAFT WITH YOU FOR STUDY. WE ARE FULLY AWARE OF FRENCH VIEWS ON THESE ISSUES. WE ARE NOT ASKING YOU AT THE PRESENT TIME TO GIVE YOUR REACTION TO THIS DRAFT. WE WOULD INTEND TO USE IT AS THE BASIS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH YOU AT A LATER POINT.

10. AS THIS TEXT MAKES CLEAR, FRANCE WOULD NOT INCUR ANY OBLIGATION IF WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA TABLED DATA WHICH INCLUDED TOTALS FOR FRENCH FORCES.

11. THE TEXT WOULD ONCE AGAIN MAKE EXPLICIT TO THE EAST THAT FRANCE WILL INCUR NO OBLIGATIONS UNDER A POSSIBLE MBFR AGREEMENT.

12. THE TEXT WOULD ALSO MAKE CLEAR TO THE EAST THAT FRANCE HAS THE RIGHT TO INCREASE ITS FORCES IN THE FRG AND THAT THE PARTICIPATING WESTERN ALLIES ENDORSE THAT RIGHT. THEREFORE, IF AN AGREEMENT IS CONCLUDED ON THIS BASIS, THE EAST WILL HAVE NO GROUND TO OBJECT IF FRANCE INCREASES ITS FORCES.

13. THUS, FRANCE WOULD BE EXPLICITLY FREE TO ALTER ITS LEVEL OF ITS OWN FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA AND WOULD BE ASSURED OF THAT RIGHT BOTH AS CONCERNS THE EAST AND OTHER NATO MEMBERS. WE ASSUME IN TURN THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT WISH TO RESTRICT THE CAPACITY OF THE ALLIES PARTICIPATING IN A POSSIBLE MBFR AGREEMENT TO REGULATE THE LEVEL OF THEIR OWN FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

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14. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT A SOLUTION OF THESE CENTRAL ISSUES WHICH WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTICIPATING ALLIES AND OF THE FRENCH GOVT IS NECESSARY AND POSSIBLE. WE CONSIDER THAT SUCH A VIABLE COMPROMISE NEEDS TO BE WORKED OUT IN THE RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE.

BEGIN TEXT OF DRAFT GUIDANCE:

THE AD HOC GROUP IS AUTHORIZED TO DRAW ON THE FOL POINTS FOR USE WITH THE EAST:

(A) THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WESTERN ACTIVE DUTY GROUND AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 WAS 980,000 MEN. THE TOTAL NUMBER OF WESTERN ACTIVE DUTY GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AS OF 1 JANUARY 1976 WAS 791,000 MEN.

(B) IT SHOULD BE REPEATED TO THE EAST THAT ONLY DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ON THE NATO SIDE WILL UNDERTAKE OBLIGATIONS IN FUTURE MBFR AGREEMENTS. OTHER MEMBERS OF THE NATO ALLIANCE WITH FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WILL NOT UNDERTAKE OBLIGATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH FUTURE AGREEMENTS.

(C) WESTERN PARTICIPANTS CONTINUE TO REQUIRE AS THE OUTCOME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS A COMBINED COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING ON THE TOTAL GROUND AND AIR FORCE MANPOWER IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS AT APPROXIMATELY 900,000 MEN, AND A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING ON GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AT APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN.

(D) IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT, THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS ARE PREPARED TO ADJUST THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THEIR FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTIVE DUTY WESTERN GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WILL NOT EXCEED 700,000 MEN, OR WHATEVER SPECIFIC FIGURE MAY BE AGREED ON. WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WILL COLLECTIVELY ENSURE THAT THE COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILINGS WILL BE MAINTAINED.

(E) SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD NOT MEAN THAT OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES WITH FORCES IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO INCREASE THEIR FORCES. THIS RIGHT EXISTS AND WOULD NOT BE AFFECTED BY AN AGREEMENT. HOWEVER, IF THE FORCES OF THESE

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COUNTRIES INCREASE, THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD MAKE ANY NECESSARY ADJUSTMENT IN THEIR FORCE LEVELS TO INSURE THAT THE LEVEL OF THE COMMON CEILING IS NOT EXCEEDED.

--FOR INTERNAL ALLIANCE USE ONLY:

THE ALLIES AGREE THAT THERE WILL BE NO COMMITMENTS FOR FRANCE AS A RESULT OF AN AGREEMENT ON A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING.

AFTER A COMMON COLLECTIVE CEILING HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, THE FRENCH GOVT WILL REMAIN FREE TO CHANGE THE MANPOWER LEVELS OF THE FRENCH FORCES IN GERMANY IN CONFORMITY WITH THE AGREEMENTS ON THE PRESENCE OF FRENCH FORCES IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, WHICH PERMIT A CONSIDERABLE INCREASE IN THOSE FORCES. END TEXT OF DRAFT GUIDANCE AND DRAFT AIDE MEMOIRE.

15. FOR CONTINGENCY USE: (NOT TO BE GIVEN TO THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES)

A. IF, IN THE COURSE OF PRESENTING THE ABOVE PAPER AND THE DRAFT GUIDANCE TO THE AD HOC GROUP INSTRUCTING THE GROUP TO TABLE DATA WITHOUT THE FRENCH FORCES, FRENCH OFFICIALS TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO ASK WHAT MEMBERS OF THE AD HOC GROUP WILL DO IF EASTERN REPS QUESTION WESTERN REPS AS TO THE EFFECTS OF THE DELETION OF FRENCH FORCES FROM WESTERN DATA ON PREVIOUS WESTERN STATEMENTS OF WILLINGNESS TO ADJUST THE LEVEL OF THE COMMON CEILING TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF CHANGES IN THE LEVEL OF FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG, THE REPLY BELOW MAY BE GIVEN.

B. IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS ISSUE WILL NOT BE RAISED WITH THE FRENCH AND THAT THIS SUGGESTED ANSWER WILL BE GIVEN ONLY IF THE FRENCH THEMSELVES RAISE THE ISSUE:

SUGGESTED RESPONSE:

"WESTERN NEGOTIATORS IN VIENNA WILL NOT TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO RAISE THIS ISSUE WITH THE EAST BUT, IF PRESSED BY THE EAST, WOULD HAVE TO REPLY ALONG THE LINES ALREADY AUTHORIZED BY THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL."

C. POSSIBLE FOLLOW-UP QUESTION:

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IF THE FRENCH OFFICIALS TAKE THE INITIATIVE TO ASK WHAT THE LINES AUTHORIZED BY NAC ARE, THE FOLLOWING ANSWER MAY BE GIVEN:
" WE WOULD TELL THE EAST THAT WE CONTINUE READY IN THE EVENT OF A SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT TO ADJUST AS NECESSARY THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL OF THE FORCES OF THE WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS IN THE AREA OF REDUCTIONS IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTIVE

DUTY WESTERN GROUND FORCE PERSONNEL IN THE AREA WILL NOT EXCEED
THE LEVEL AGREED ON."

END SUGGESTED AMENDMENT OF FRG PAPER.RESOR

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